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XXIV.—*An Account of the great Historical Work of the African Philosopher IBN KHALDÚN. By the Chevalier JACOB GRÄBERG de HEMSÖ, M. A., F.M.R.A.S., late Swedish and Norwegian Consul for Morocco and Tripoli, Knight of the Sardinian Order of St. Mauritius and Lazarus.*

Read the 21st January 1832.

الدول لهم اعمار طبيعية كما للأشخاص *

Ibn Khaldún, P. I., B. III., ch. 12.

Few nations, either ancient or modern, have surpassed the Amazirgs, or lineal descendants of the primitive inhabitants of northern Africa, in power to produce a more ingenious and contemplative writer than the one now before us. And yet this writer, equally profound as an historian and as a statesman, has hitherto been so little known in Europe, that the majority of our Arabic scholars have but very confused notions of his scientific and literary merits, and to many, even his name is almost unknown. In the East, and in Africa, however, the great historical work he has composed, has given him a celebrity which no lapse of time, nor any vicissitude of events, will ever impair or lessen.

His names and titles are in Arabic: *Wálí-ad-dín Abú-Zaïd Abd-ar-rahmán Ben-Mohammed al Hadhramí al Ishbílí*; but he is better known by the single patronymic name of IBN KHALDÚN, the etymology of which is most likely derived from the circumstance of his father having, in the full possession of his health and faculties, attained an extreme old age. This old man, surnamed KHALDÚN, was a native Amazirg or Berber; but his wife, descending from a family of the Arabian province Hadhramát, made her son adopt the surname of AL-HADHRAMÍ. The second surname, AL-ISHBÍLÍ, he assumed because he had prosecuted and accomplished his studies at the university of Seville in Andalusia, in which city, it would also appear, that his mother was born. He came into the world at Tunis, in the year 1332 of the Christian era, and passed his youth, and many years of his manhood, in Egypt. He then served a short time under TÍMÚR, as chief justice at Damascus, and made a journey with that conqueror to Samarkand; after

* For the translation, see page 394, chap. 12.

which he returned to Cairo, where he became *kádhí-al-kodhá*, or supreme judge, and died in the year 1406, at the advanced age of seventy-four. Besides his great historical work, of which I propose to offer a short analysis in this paper, he had achieved several other performances in natural history, politics, jurisprudence, and the science of languages; but they are now either lost, or but very little known. His principal and most remarkable work is the "History of the Arabs, the Persians, and the Berbers." The Arabic title of this work is : كتاب العبر وديوان المبتدأ والخبر في أيام العرب والعجم والبربر ومن عاصرهم and translated into English, signifies "A Book containing instructive Examples, and a Collection of the subject and the predicate respecting the History of the Arabs, the Persians, and the Berbers, as well as of other contemporary Nations." The whole composition is commonly called *Tárikh Ibn Khaldún*, or "The Annals of IBN KHALDÚN."

The first oriental scholar of Europe, my respected friend the Baron SILVESTRE DE SACY, has given in Vol. XXI. of *La Biographie Universelle, ancienne et moderne*, a very complete and eloquent account of the author and of his book. He has moreover published and translated into French several pages of this work, both in his *Chrestomathie Arabe*, and in his edition of A'BDULLATÍF's Description of Egypt. Those pages are taken from the first part of the work, which the author himself entitles : مقدمه في فضل علم التاريخ , that is to say, "Prolegomena respecting the excellence of the science of History;" which first part is often considered as a separate work, independent of the two other parts of the great history; the former of which comprehends the history of the Arabs and other nations, from the beginning of the world to the eighth century of the Hegira; the latter, the history of the author's own nation, the Berbers or Amazirgs, and of other indigenous nations of northern Africa, also an account of the various tribes, and of the dynasties who have succeeded each other in this remarkable part of the globe.

Notwithstanding IBN KHALDÚN has not altogether renounced the prejudices of his religious tenets, he has done so in a much greater degree than any other Arabian historiographer. He is, at least, in no way tainted, either with the predilection of his brethren in religion, for all that is Arabian, or with their blind zeal, for the superiority of their nation above every other. Far from judging of the Arabs with partiality, he often rather errs on the opposite side. His principal object, it would appear, has been to write the history

of the African dynasties who derive their origin from the Berbers; for, with respect to the Prolegomena, it is pretty well ascertained that he wrote them, as well as the whole second part of the Work, after having finished the third part, which contains the History of the Berbers.

I do not believe there exists, in any European library, one complete copy of all the three parts of this valuable work. Of the first, or the Introduction, some more or less correct copies are to be met with in England, France, and Germany; but of the second and the third, the Baron DE SACY himself confesses, in his biography of the author already alluded to, that he did not know whether a single complete manuscript copy existed in the whole extent of Europe.

On my first arrival at Tangier, and during my subsequent residence there, from 1816 to 1822, I spared neither pains nor expense to obtain a copy of this valuable work; but, in spite of all my exertions, the thing appeared to be impossible. A very learned *Sharif* from Wazán, who had lived a long time at the university of Fez, assured me, that only two copies were extant throughout the whole of *Moghrib-al-Aksá* or the empire of Morocco, namely, one in the mosque of *Al Karúbín* at Fez, and the other in the sanctuary of Shella near Salee. In the mean time, I heard it whispered that a good copy of the Prolegomena might be met with in the principal mosque of Tangier; and by means of a considerable bribe, I succeeded in persuading one of the officiating *Tálíbs* or priests, to transcribe it for me. But, how painful was my disappointment, on finding that this dear-bought transcript, although it extended to 478 pages, contained the half only of the *Mokaddameh* or Prolegomena. Instead of six books or sections, which this First Part of the Work ought to contain, the manuscript given to me had merely the two first books and somewhat more than the half of the third. Both promises and bribes were unavailing, to induce the *Tálib* to let me collate my copy with the original manuscript, so that I cannot even say whether I have got all that could be obtained. The priest, however, contended that his original did not contain one syllable, yea not one single letter, more than what he had transcribed. Of this I was further assured by the abovementioned *Sharif*, who moreover affirmed, that of the two MS. copies of which he had spoken, only that one in the mosque of Fez was really complete, because it was the selfsame autograph manuscript which the Author, in his Preface, says he inscribed and presented in person to the mosque of *Al Karúbín*; but that the other

one at Shella was so far defective, that the whole of the sixth book of the Prolegomena was entirely wanting, as well as part of the history of the Arabs and Persians. Upon my earnest entreaty, and promise of a liberal reward, the *Sharif* pledged himself to procure me a correct transcript of the former, and for this purpose he left Tangier for Fez at the end of 1821. Had I then remained only a few months longer in the empire of Morocco, the great object of my wishes and endeavours would have been attained. But alas! "Man proposes and God disposes": my violent and tyrannical ejection from Tangier annihilated, as well in this respect as in many others, my legitimate and fondest expectations: لا تحزن فالذي قضى الله يكون. "Be not sorrowful, for that which God has ordained must come to pass."

Removed to Tripoli, a poorer but more civilized part of Barbary than Morocco, I did not cease to continue my pursuits; and I so far succeeded as, by means of a very clever and accurate copyist, to obtain a transcript of the other parts of the work from the only complete copy extant at Tripoli, which was in the hands of the then Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, my learned and excellent friend the *Sharif* SIDI HASSUNA D'GH'AÏS; who, among the Musulmans of the present age, and more especially among the African followers of Mohammed, deserves to be noticed as a prodigy of learning, knowledge, and civility; since in this most amiable person are combined, the politeness of the courtier with the rare talents of the statesman, and with elaborate improvement of the mind, the gracefulness of a man of fashion. He was brought up a profound Arabic scholar, and having spent several years of his youth in England and France, he thereby laid a most excellent foundation for learning and skill in several European languages, in politics, and in polite literature.

But to return to my subject; who could fancy himself happier than I was, after so many years' exertions, to be finally possessed of the whole of this invaluable treasure. But what is happiness on this side the grave! A new misfortune hurried me away from Tripoli in 1828, almost as suddenly as from Tangier, and turning my joy into sorrow, confirmed the old saying, that "Every thing upon earth is transitory and perishable." Amongst a quantity of books and manuscripts which, during the passage from Tripoli to Leghorn, on board a Sardinian vessel, were soaked with salt water, and consequently destroyed, were my second and third volumes of IBN KHALDÚN's historical work. My only consola-

tion was that the fourth and largest volume, containing the end of the second, and the whole of the third part, or the history of the Berbers, being by chance put into a separate box, had not suffered any damage, so that I have, at least, the satisfaction of possessing the most precious part of the manuscript. The loss of the remainder was, however, the more galling, as it could not be repaired, even through the politeness and personal friendship of SIDI HASSUNA, who would gladly have procured me a new transcript; for the copy, the only one in the possession of any body at Tripoli, from which the two volumes now lost were transcribed, was by this nobleman, a very short time before my departure, lent to one of the European consuls at that residence, who is since dead, but who, dabbling in every kind of scholarship, and contrary to all honesty, sent away the manuscript to Europe, without saying a word to its unsuspecting, and too obliging owner. I hasten, therefore, to communicate these notes to the Royal Asiatic Society, whilst the outline and the contents of the two lost volumes are still fresh in my memory.

The preface to IBN KHALDÚN'S Prolegomena contains much profound reflection upon the usefulness and the importance of history as a science, and upon the manner in which annals and chronicles ought to be digested, and committed to writing. After this preface follows an essay on historical criticism, in which the Author enters into a discussion on various occurrences, which have been believed as true, and often related as such, on the authority of the major part of the Arabian historians, although they really are either adscititious or totally unfounded, or, at least, highly improbable. Of these he chiefly enumerates: 1. the journey of the Israelites across the desert, with an army of six hundred thousand warriors, a number which he esteems exaggerated; 2. the conquests of the *Tobbas*, ancient *Hamyarite* kings of Yemen; 3. the fable concerning the paradise of Irem; 4. the preposterous assertion, that a love affair betwixt JA'FAR and the sister of HÁRÚN-AR-RASHÍD brought about the ruin of the Barmacides; 5. the scandalous and defamatory anecdotes from the private lives of several khalífs; and 6. the story about the origin of the *Edrisites*, and the *Mogh-rabine Aghlabites*. He next enters upon an elaborate defence of MAHADÍ, the first ancestor of the *Mohavides*, wherein he lays hold of this opportunity, to expose the ridiculous assumption of some teachers in the mosques and would-be antiquaries, who, in the more modern times of Islamism,

have, on their own private authority, passed sentence upon several men of eminence, who flourished during the first centuries after the Hegira. In conclusion, he examines the mechanism of languages, and gives the rules which he has laid down and followed, in the orthography of the foreign words and proper names, which occur in the course of his lucubrations.

The commencement of the work bears, in my manuscript, the Arabic title : الكتاب الأول في طبيعة العمران في الخليقة وما يعرض فيها من البدو والمخضر والغلب و , الكسب والعلوم والصنائع ونحوها والمعاش وما لذاك من العلل والنسب , that is, in English, "The first volume : of the Nature and Institution of Society, and of all that concerns both the rude and civilized State of Mankind ; of Conquest and Acquisition ; of Sciences, Arts, and Handicrafts ; and finally, of Industry, Economy, and other analogous Subjects, the results of Knowledge."

This First Part, or Introduction, comprehends six books or sections, of which BOOK I. treats upon the moral culture of mankind in general, and is divided into the six following chapters :

1. The union of mankind into society is indispensable.
2. Description of the inhabited parts of the globe, according to EDRÍSI's geography of climates ; with the elements of astronomy, according to the system of PROLEMY.
3. Of the influence which the temperate zones and climate have, over the colour of the skin, and the propagation of the human race.
4. Influence of climate over the passions and the constitution.
5. Of the influence that plenty, or want of food, has over men's manners, and particular constitution of the mind.
6. Of the contemplative life, as a consequence of fasting and abstemiousness ; with remarks on divinations, visions, dreams, witchcraft, &c.

BOOK II.—Of the savage state of mankind ; of the Bedouins, and other wandering nations ; consisting of twenty-nine chapters.

1. The division of people into wandering (nomades, Bedouins) and sedentary (citizens, Arabs) is of necessity founded in nature.
2. The Arab nation is, by nature, the most erratic of all people.
3. The wandering state and pastoral life, preceded the city life, and were the first states of civilisation.

4. Wandering people have less corrupt manners than those who live in cities.

5. They are also braver.

6. Citizens lose their good qualities with their liberties.

7. The genuine family power, or paternal authority, is only met with among tribes.

8. The family power is grounded on the extent of the tribe.

9. The care of preserving genealogies and titles of descent, or lineage, is found among savage people, and particularly amongst the Arabs.

10. Of the intermixture of pedigrees and lineages.

11. Dominion is a consequence of family power and parental aristocracy.

12. Real nobility is a consequence of family power. All other sorts of nobility are artificial and accidental.

13. The rank of servants is determined by the nobility of the family.

14. Nobility of merit, or hereditary pre-eminence, does never hold out in the same family beyond four generations.

15. Rude nations are the best conquerors.

16. The end of power is dominion.

17. Luxury and love of comfortable living, fetter the progress towards dominion.

18. The tendency to submission and humility, are also obstacles in the way of dominion.

19. The imposts and tributes to which a nation submits, make it contemptible.

20. Great virtues presage dominion; great vices, the contrary.

21. The more uncivilized the nation which attains dominion, the greater the extent of its power.

22. If the principal branch of a family lose dominion, another of its branches will exercise it, so long as the family power remains in force.

23. Vanquished people adapt themselves to the character, the laws, and the manners of their conquerors.

24. A vanquished nation degenerates, and soon decays.

25. The Arabs have conquered none but flat, open countries.

26. They do not at all understand the art of preserving the state of culture, and civilization, of the countries they conquer.

27. None but prophets can rule the Arabs, and become their lawgivers

28. The Arabs know less than any other people of the science of government.

29. Tribes living in the Desert need greatly the assistance of people inhabiting cities.

BOOK III.—Of dynasties, monarchy, Khalifat, ranks, and dignities. Sixty-one chapters.

1. The founders of dynasties are in particular need of the support derived from the heads of families.

2. A dynasty, already firmly established, can do without this support.

3. A rising dynasty, assured of foreign support, can also dispense with the aid of family power.

4. The great monarchies have been founded by prophets, and were theocracies.

5. The ascendancy of religious authority will always, at the foundation of the monarchy, overweigh the influence of family power.

6. Nevertheless, the religious power cannot do without the assistance of paternal authority.

7. The power of each empire is circumscribed by certain limits, beyond these, it will, and must decay.

8. The prosperity and glory of an empire are dependent on the greater or smaller number of the public officers or servants of government.

9. Absolute power can never be firmly established in a country occupied by several powerful tribes.

10. A well settled dominion will always tend to the enjoyment of quiet, and the conveniences of life.

11. This tendency is the presage of its decline and downfall.

12. Empires have their natural life like individuals.

13. Of the progress of dominion ; passage from the savage to the civilized state.

14. Agriculture in a rising dominion, far from weakening it, will increase its strength.

15. Of the various changes which the same dominion is liable to undergo, in process of time.

16. The monuments which are left us of ancient empires are adequate to the grandeur, and original power of those empires.

17. Foreign assistance is often called in, to counteract the overbearing influence of some too powerful families.

18. Of the foreign supporters of a throne.

19. Of the powerful influence and ascendancy of foreigners, who hinder princes from governing by themselves.
20. They very often claim all the liberties and rights of sovereignty.
21. Of sovereignty, or absolute power.
22. The too great severity of sovereigns endangers absolute authority.
23. Signification of the titles *Imám* and *Khalífah*.
24. Of the qualities requisite to the office of *Imám*.
25. Of the various Mohammedan sects and parties dividing the faithful, with regard to the office of *Khalífah*.
26. Of the decline of the Khalifat, and its change into unmixed monarchy.
27. Signification of the word *Baï'a*, or inauguration of the *Khalífah*.
28. Of the power of appointing a successor.
29. Of ecclesiastical offices and spiritual hierarchy.
30. Of the title *Amir-al-mú'minín* or commander of the believers.
31. What the Pope, the bishops, the priests, and the judges are among the Christians and the Jews.
32. Of the great offices and dignities of court and state, under sultans, emperors, and kings.
33. Of the office of *vezír*.
34. Of the cabinet or privy council.
35. Of the department of finances.
36. Of ambassadors and foreign affairs.
37. Of the sovereign's life-guard, and the direction of the police.
38. Of the navy.
39. Precedence with regard to rank betwixt the sword and the pen.
40. Of the ensigns of royalty and absolute power, *viz.* the throne, the coinage, the seal, the purple, the banner or standard, the travelling-tent, and the gallery of honour in the mosques.
41. Of the war department, and the art of ranging men on the field of battle.*
42. Sources of the finances; increase or diminution of the revenue of the crown.
43. Of customs and imposts upon merchandize.

* Here ends my Mauritanic manuscript of the Prolegomena. What follows has consequently been taken from the transcript I obtained at Tripoli, before I had the misfortune of losing it, as I have already stated.

44. The too great inclination of the sovereign to practise commerce is highly prejudicial to the state.

45. Precisely when the empire is at the highest pitch of prosperity and glory, the great families are the most wealthy.

46. Of the emigration of the wealthy families, who apprehend the confiscation of their property.

47. The revenues of the state suffer, when the sovereigns diminish their munificence.

48. Oppression and concussions are the ruin of dominion.

49. The average or statute labour is one of the most pernicious kinds of oppression.

50. Of usury and unlawful interest.

51. Of the different degrees and institutions of chamberlains, and other officers in the sovereign's household.

52. Of the division of an empire into several principalities.

53. Against the declining age of an empire there is no remedy.

54. Of the causes of the decay and downfall of dominion.

55. Causes of ruin arising from too great riches.

56. Empires rise and increase; but arrived at the limit of their enlargement, they decline.

57. Of new dominions founded upon the ruins of old ones.

58. A too numerous population must ultimately produce scarcity of provisions.

59. In every state a political code is of absolute necessity.

60. Of МАНАДІ, the last *Imám* or anointed High Priest, whom the *Shia's* believe to be still living.

61. Of astrological and cabalistical predictions concerning the duration of monarchies.

BOOK IV.—Of Cities and other Establishments of civilization. Twenty-two Chapters.

1. The monarchy or kingly government is older than the congregation of mankind into cities, which was the result of monarchy.

2. Optimates and rich people choose rather to live in cities.

3. Large cities and fortified towns were never founded but by great sovereigns.

4. Some remains of antiquity are so grand and extensive, that more than one dynasty, or at least more than one reign, must have been requisite to perfect them.

5. When the necessary precautions are neglected in laying the foundations of a large city, it will feel the effects of it for ever.

6. Of capital mosques.

7. There are few large cities in the province of Africa, properly so called, and in Moghrib-al-Aksá.

8. Royal palaces and fortified castles, built after the rise of the Islám, are very few in number.

9. The monuments erected by the Arabs are not of great durability.

10. How cities fall into decay.

11. The greatness and the beauty of cities have comparative relation to the well-being of the citizens.

12. Of the prices of eatables.

13. Wandering tribes abhor living in cities.

14. The wealth or the poverty of a state is always proportionate to that of its cities.

15. Of the advantages resulting from landed property.

16. Rich citizens must of necessity adhere to men in office.

17. The more or less successful advancement of public affairs, always follows the flourishing, or decreasing condition of the empire.

18. The highest pitch of luxury is the corruption of manners, which carries along with it downfall and ruin.

19. The capital of a state declines, and falls away with the empire.

20. There are arts and handicrafts which are peculiarly limited to certain cities.

21. The wandering tribes are always at war with each other.

22. Of languages, their nature, and distinctions.

BOOK V.—Of Arts, Manufactures, Trades, and other means of livelihood or subsistence. Thirty-two Chapters.

1. Definition of what is meant by acquisition, livelihood, and salary for labour.

2. Different ways and means of livelihood and acquisition.

3. Servitude is not a natural means of acquisition.

4. Of hidden treasures, and of those who make a business of discovering them.
5. High offices lead to riches.
6. Humiliation and submission are also means of growing rich.
7. The offices of judges, *imáms*, and schoolmasters are not lucrative.
8. Agriculture is the lot of the lowest class of the people.
9. Of commerce.
10. Of exportations.
11. Of monopolies, or engrossment of commodities.
12. When the prices of goods are low, the merchants do not profit.
13. To whom commerce is suitable, and to whom not.
14. Merchants are generally accused of being deficient in elevated and liberal ideas.
15. Arts and handicrafts cannot be learned without teachers.
16. The greater or smaller perfection in the arts, depends on the higher or lower degree of civilization.
17. The consistency of the arts and handicrafts, depends entirely on the more or less diffused civilization of the country.
18. Arts and manufactures always thrive, according to the number of individuals employed in them.
19. The decay of the state carries with it the ruin of the arts.
20. The Arabs have very little skill in arts and manufactures.
21. The individual who excels in one art will hardly be eminent in any other.
22. Division of the arts.
23. Of agriculture and the breeding of cattle.
24. Of architecture.
25. Of joinery.
26. The arts of the tailor and the weaver.
27. Of midwifery.
28. The art, or science of healing.
29. The art of writing.
30. The arts of the bookbinder and the papermaker.
31. Of music and dancing.
32. A certain perfection in the arts of writing and computation, commonly inspires a prepossession towards those who have acquired the command of it.

BOOK VI.—Of Sciences and their encyclopedial division.

This book is not divided into a regular number of chapters, but contains, in about fifty neat paragraphs, a most elaborate compendium of all the sciences at that time cultivated by the Arabs; laid open and subdivided into regular classes, by means of a highly systematic method, which would do honour even to the first encyclopedist of our age. Among these paragraphs, the most remarkable for profound learning and extensive erudition, are those that expound algebra, the mathematics, astronomy, navigation, natural history, and chemistry. This sixth book is wanting in most of the copies, and forms a considerable portion of the third part of the *Mokaddameh* or Prolegomena.

From this summary or outline we may form some idea of the information conveyed by these Prolegomena. Moreover, all the chapters and paragraphs are interspersed with a great number of select examples and curious anecdotes, drawn from the annals of the Arabs, the Persians, the Berbers, and other ancient and modern nations. Few oriental learned works, therefore, can be compared to this masterly composition; nor can any other have so great a claim to the honour of a complete translation into a European language. Were my life not so far advanced, and had not adverse fortune lately checked my literary ardour, I should perchance have taken courage to translate into French, or Italian at least, this First Part of IBN KHALDÚN's excellent performance. But what do I say? My zeal makes me almost forget that I have irretrievably lost the latter half of this first part, together with nearly the whole of the second.

The style, however, in which the original is composed, may possibly deter more than one Arabic scholar from a similar attempt. Excessively laconic, it often becomes obscure and scarcely intelligible, by the too abrupt transitions, and frequent omissions of intermediate ideas. The Turks have a very good translation of these Prolegomena, or rather a commented paraphrase, whose author, the famous MOHAMMED PARÍZÁDEH, has attempted to remedy the inconvenience alluded to, by not only developing the ideas of the original, but also adding a great many elucidations and separate remarks of his own. By these additions, the interpretation has swollen to a volume at least two-thirds larger than the original. This work of PARÍZÁDEH is continually studied throughout the *Othmánli* empire, not only by all the ministers and statesmen of the Porte, but likewise by the Greek princes, and

by all the dragomans who have a love for learning and literature, and whose services and knowledge are employed in the public affairs of the empire.

THE SECOND PART OF THE WORK

contains, as I have already stated, the history of the Arabs, the Persians, and other nations, from the creation of the world until the end of the eighth century of the Hegira, or to the year 1398 of the Christian æra. Its Arabic title was, in my manuscript : الكتاب الثاني في اخبار العرب والعجم و احيالهم و دولهم منذ مبتداء الخليقة الي هذا العبد و فيه الالماع لبعض من عاصروهم من الائم المشاهير و دولهم منذ مبتداء الخليقة الي هذا العبد و فيه الالماع لبعض من عاصروهم من الائم المشاهير و دولهم منذ مبتداء الخليقة الي هذا العبد و فيه الالماع لبعض من عاصروهم من الائم المشاهير , مثل التبط و السريانيين و الفارس و بني اسرائيل و القبط و يونان و الروم و الترك و الافرنج , that is, in English : “ Volume the Second, containing the History of the Arabs and the Barbarians, their Tribes and Dynasties, from the beginning of the Creation down to the present Time; with the most credible accounts of several other remarkable contemporary nations, viz. Nabathæans, Syrians, Persians, Israelites, Kopts, Greeks, Romans, Turks, and Franks or Europeans.” With regard to the primeval history of the Arabs, their emigrations to Asia and Africa, the branching and spreading of their tribes, their conquests, the progressive corruption of their language, &c., no other writer is likely to be found who, with greater sagacity in his investigations, more solid learning in his criticism, and more entertaining variety of erudition in his narration, has performed his task in so exquisite a manner as IBN KHALDÚN. The fourth or last book of this history is especially of immense value, containing an equally new and interesting account of the origin and settlement of the Arabian tribes, who, in Africa, or in other regions, have more or less forgotten or corrupted the language and manners of their ancestors, for which reason they are called in the East : عرب المستعجمه , that is, literally translated, “ language-corrupting Arabs,” or such whose speech is scarcely intelligible. The former three sections give a description, 1. of the genuine Arabs, عرب العراء who live in towns; 2. adventitious or adopted Arabs, عرب العربة who live in the fields; 3. foreign Arabs, عرب المتعرب or عرب المستعرب foreigners who have adopted the language, the manners, and the religion of the Arabs. GOLIUS, in his excellent dictionary, calls them *Arabes facti et adscititii*.

This second part of the work is exceedingly rare in Europe, and I verily fancied myself the only Christian who possessed a copy of it, excepting the one that was purloined from my friend SIDI HASSUNA D'GHA'is,

which must exist somewhere in France, where the purloiner died some months ago. This man, I am confidently informed, had the impudence to ask a most noble and revered friend of mine an enormous sum of money for the manuscript. But still more scarce is

THE THIRD PART OF THE WORK,

comprising the History of the Berbers; yet I know that a tolerably correct copy of it exists in the library of the University at Cambridge.

It would neither become me, nor accord with the object of this paper, to give a complete analysis of this invaluable history, especially as any thing of the kind could not be performed without giving at least a translation of the various rubrics or arguments placed at the head of more than four hundred chapters or divisions which compose this volume, and which extends to seven hundred and seven pages in folio. This however would be nothing else but a useless skeleton, or a dry list of words and proper names, without the least positive utility. On the other hand, I know that the late Mr. SCHULTZ has given, in the *Nouveau Journal Asiatique* of Paris for August 1828, a translation of the first chapter of this book; I shall therefore confine myself to a view of the first fourteen chapters, which in my manuscript form the introduction to this most precious portion of IBN KHALDÚN's composition.

The Arabic title of this third part of the work runs as follows: الكتاب الثالث في اخبار البربر الامة الثانية اهل المغرب وذكر اوليتهم واجيالهم منذ مبتداء الخليقة و لهذا العهد وذكر الخلاف الواقع بين الناس في انسابهم, which may be translated in English: "Volume, or Book the Third: History of the Berbers, the second People inhabiting Africa, and Description of their Origin, their Divisions, and their Dynasties, from the beginning of the Creation until the present time; and first of all, an Exposition of the different Opinions held forth by Men about their Origin."

Chapter 1. Genealogy of the Berbers, and their different tribes, descended from the two great stocks BERNAS and MADRGIS. The seven tribes derived from the first, called *Beránís*, were the *Azdájeh*, the *Masmúdeh*, the *Awaríeh*, the *Ajíseh*, the *Katámeh*, the *Sanhájah*, and the *A'rirgeh*, to whom some authors have added the *Lamatheh*, the *Haskúreh*, and the *Kazúleh* or *Gazúleh*.

The *Beránís* were the descendants of BER, a son of MAZIRG, and grand-

son of CANAAN In the translation of Mr. SCHULTZ, the name of *Mazirg* is written *Madhirg*, with a *đ*; but in my manuscript it is uniformly written with a *j*. And it is most probable that from *Mazirg* the Berbers derive their ethnical name of *Amazing* or *Amzighs*. The *Madrgís*, who are also called *Batár*, from the plural of *Abtár*, a surname given to their first forefather MADRGÍS, were the offspring of another BER, the son of KÍS, a son of AILAN, and divided themselves into four great branches: the *Addaseh*, the *Néfúseh*, the *Zárisch*, and the sons of LÁWÁ the elder. They all descend from ZAJÍK, a son of MADRGÍS, and their pedigree, as well as those of the *Beránis*, are represented in the manuscript by two regular trees of consanguinity.

As to the primitive origin of the Berbers, after having laid open and reviewed the different opinions advanced by his predecessors, the author fixes ultimately upon the conviction that they descend from CANAAN, son of SHEM and grandson of NOAH. The name of their real founder is MAZIRG or MAZIGH. The Canaanites of Palestine were their kinsmen and allies, and descend from KASLÚJIM (CASLUHIM in the Bible), a son of MISSRAIM and grandson of SHEM. He contends that the Sanháfeh and the Ketámeh are not Berbers; and he believes them to be akin, at least, to people of Arabian origin. Finally he explicitly asserts, what their manner of living, their dwellings, and their language sufficiently evince, that, with the exception of the two tribes just now mentioned, the Berbers are a people totally distinct from the Arabs.

Chapter 2. Of the most ancient settlements of the Berbers in Afrikieh and Moghrib-al-Aksá, with a general description of this latter region, and of Bajiya and Kostinie (the modern state of Algiers); which description has been taken, almost word for word, by Leo Africanus in his account of Northern Africa.

Chapter 3. Of what is really ascertained through ancient and modern events concerning the passage of the Berbers from their savage state to a certain degree of civilization; and further of their dominions, and their dynasties.

Chapter 4. Of the assembling of the Berbers into political and constitutional societies, both before and after the first establishment of Islamism, down to the dominion of the Aghlabís in Africa.

Now follows the real History of the Berbers, from which I shall only extract the contents of the first ten sections or chapters.

1. The history of the Berbers *Al-Batár*, their origin, division, tribes, &c. according to their own records; and firstly of the tribe *Nafúseh*.

2. Of the great tribe *Nafzáweh*.

3. Of the tribe *Lawáteh*, derived from *ABTÁR*.

4. Of the tribe *Bení Fatan* (my manuscript has *Fäin*), descended from *ZARISEH* by his eldest son *THAMSIEH*.

5. Of the *Zowáweh* and the *Zowágheh*, who are likewise descended from the great and numerous tribe *Zaríseh*.

6. The annals of the tribe *Miknáseh*, and of all its clans and branches sprung from *WARSTAF* which still exist among the tribes of *Zaríseh*, and of the countries possessed by the *Miknáseh* in the two *Moghribs*, especially under the dynasty *Bení Wasúl*, kings of *Sajalmása*.

7. Of *Bení Abi'l-Afiáti*, kings of *Tasúl*, descended from the *Miknáseh*, and of their conquests and dominion.

8. The annals of the *Beránis*, and firstly of the *Hawwáreh*, their division, tribes, and branches, with an account of the spreading of their clans in the provinces of *Afrikiéh* and of the two *Mogh'ribs*, *al-Ausat* and *al-Aksá*, or the modern states of *Algiers* and *Morocco*.

9. Of the *Azdájeh*, the *Mostáseh*, and the *Ajíseh*, who are descended from *BERNAS*, and how they propagated themselves in *Africa*.

10. Of the tribe *Ketámeh*, and how they were greater, nobler, and more civilized than other Berber tribes, and how they gave chiefs and rulers to the other clans of the nation. Here the author proves that the *Zowáweh* are really a clan of the tribe *Ketámeh*, and consequently children of *BERNAS* and not of *MADRGIS* or *ABTÁR*.

Then commences the history of the *Sanhájah*, their tribes and dominions as well in *Africa* as in *Spain*, which are described with great accuracy and very circumstantially, in a series of more than sixty chapters; after which the annals of the other tribes are unfolded more or less circumstantially, as the recorded events and the revolutions seem to require. The third chapter of the *Sanhájah* annals contains an extremely interesting and valuable topographical description of the modern empire of *Morocco*, and particularly of those parts of *Daran* or *Deren* (mount *Atlas*) which were anciently, and are still inhabited by the *Amazirg* tribes of *Masmúdeh*, *Bargwáteh*, *Gomara*, *Bení Asámí*, *Bení Edrísí*, *Bení Hamsúd*, *Bení Viryargal*, and others, who, at the time of the conquest of *Africa* by the

Arabs, partly professed the religion of Moses; whilst others were either Christians or heathens, worshippers of the sun, the moon, the fire, &c. This section or chapter, which is very material to the history of Morocco, seems to have been little used, either by Arabian or other historiographers, who have attempted to collect and lay open what has happened in ancient times, amongst the nations who occupy the summits and the sides of the Moroccan Atlas, and the two kingdoms of Tandja and Sebtah, so famous during the middle ages. In this part of the work, as well as every where else, IBN KHALDÚN occasionally offers the most curious and valuable information concerning the northern parts of Soudán, or the land of the Negroes, and of the warfare and the conquests made by the Berbers to the south of the Great Desert. In one word, among all the numerous Arabic and other Oriental manuscripts that are mouldering in the rich libraries of Europe, and still more, amongst all those that have hitherto been published, with or without translations, there is not one that offers such an assemblage of worth, rarity, importance, general utility, and extensive learning, with respect to the history of Africa, as this most excellent work of A'BD-AR-RAHMÁN IBN KHALDÚN. And I do not consider myself going too far in asserting, that the skilful and learned Arabic scholar who would undertake to make an abridged and commented translation of this classical work, into a generally known European language, would reap everlasting honour and praise, and at the same time, in a high degree, deserve well of the whole commonwealth of letters.*

Florence, June 11, 1831.

* The Rev. Professor Lee, is now engaged on a translation of this work, which is to be published by the Oriental Translation Fund of Great Britain and Ireland.